

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 EA-06 IO-10 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02

ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 ERDA-05 OES-03 /091 W

----- 080364

R 101525Z APR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1106

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

ALL NATO CAPITALS 5207

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1958

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MEETING OF NATO DISARMAMENT EXPERTS, APRIL 8 AND 9

GENEVA PASS CCD

VIENNA PASS USDEL IAEA

SUMMARY: SPRING MEETING OF NATO DISARMAMENT EXPERTS FOCUSED PRINCIPALLY ON UPCOMING NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE WITH ONE FULL DAY DEVOTED TO DISCUSSING ISSUES LIKELY TO ARISE. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT ON OBJECTIVES OF STRENGTHENING TREATY, ENCOURAGING HOLDOUTS TO JOIN AND AVOIDING ATTEMPTS TO AMEND TREATY. HOWEVER, THERE WERE SHADES OF DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH TO THE CONFERENCE ON THE PART OF CERTAIN PARTICIPANTS, SOME OF THE MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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SIGNIFICANT OF WHICH ARE DISCUSSED BELOW. ALL ATTENDEES (ICELAND AND LUXEMBOURG WERE NOT REPRESENTED) SAID THAT THEIR GOVERNMENTS INTENDED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REVIEW CONFERENCE EXCEPT PORTUGAL, FRANCE AND POSSIBLE GREECE. SECOND DAY

DISCUSSIONS COVERED NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, NUCLEAR TEST BAN ISSUES, ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION, HUMANITARIAN LAW IN ARMED CONFLICTS, PROSPECTS FOR THE 1975 CCD AND THE STATUS OF BW AND CW WEAPONS CONTROL. THE U.S. MADE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION ON MOST OF THESE SUBJECTS AND THERE WAS A GENERAL FEELING THAT THERE WAS A HIGHER THAN USUAL SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

END SUMMARY

1. FIRST DAY OF MEETING WAS DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO NPT MATTERS. U.S. EXPERT (VAN DOREN) GAVE SUMMARY OF PREPCOM DECISIONS AND U.S. VIEWS ON OTHER AGENDA ITEMS:

-- POSSIBILITIES OF ACHIEVING GREATER UNIVERSALITY OF THE NPT

-- PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES

-- EXPORT OF NUCLEAR MATERIAL AND EQUIPMENT

-- EXPORT OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY

-- SYSTEMS OF INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS OF NUCLEAR PLANTS

-- PHYSICAL PROTECTION OF NUCLEAR PLANTS AND MATERIAL

2. DISCUSSIONS WERE DETAILED AND OPEN. OBJECTIVES OF REVIEW CONFERENCE WERE FAIRLY WIDELY AGREED: (1) LOOK FOR WAYS TO STRENGTHEN TREATY (2) MAKE IT MORE ATTRACTIVE TO PARTIES AND NON-EMBIMERS AND (3) AVOID AMENDMENTS ON PROTOCOLS. CANADIANS WERE MOST BEARISH ABOUT OUTCOME OF CONFERENCE, SAYING THEY WERE NOT AT ALL CERTAIN THAT IT WOULD ACHIEVE POSITIVE RESULTS.

3. ITALIANS SAID THEY WERE APPROACHING RATIFICATION WITHOUT "CRIES OF JOY AND GLADNESS" BUT WERE RELATIVELY MODERATE IN MOST OF THEIR POSITIONS. THEY HOPED THEIR ADHERENCE WOULD ENCOURAGE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES TO BECOME PARTIES. ITALIAN REP SAID GOI HAD NOTIFIED PREPCOM CHAIRMAN OF POSSIBILITY THAT THEY MAY CONFIDENTIAL

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CHANGE STATUS TO PARTY AFTER REVIEW CONFERENCE HAD GOTTON UNDERWAY.

4. FRENCH DELEGATE SAID HE CAME TO LISTEN AND REMAINED MUTE THROUGHOUT DISCUSSION EVEN WHEN ENCOURAGED BY CHAIRMAN TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSION OF SUPPLIERS' ROLE IN PROMOTING NON-PROLIFERATION.

5. NETHERLANDS ADOPTED ACTIVIST STANCE, URGING PROGRESS ON ALL FRONTS TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND TOOK STRONG STANDS IN FAVOR COMMON PNE REGIME FOR BOTH NUCLEAR AND NON-NUCLEAR COUNTRIES, NEGATIVE ASSURANCES FOR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATUS AND OTHER SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES.

6. ALL BUT PORTUGAL, FRANCE AND GREECE SAID THEY WOULD ATTEND REVIEW CONFERENCE. (LATER GREEK REP ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD HAD PHONE CALL FROM ATHENS SAYING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT YET MADE FINAL DECISION.) MOST DELEGATIONS SAID THEY DID NOT KNOW WHO WOULD REPRESENT THEIR COUNTRIES. OF THOSE THAT KNEW, UK NAMED MINISTER OF STATE AT FOREIGN OFFICE ENNALS; CANADA SAID FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD ATTEND; FRG WILL BE REPRESENTED BY THEIR CCD REP (BUT MAY UPGRADE IF GERMANY BECOMES PARTY PRIOR TO OPENING OF CONFERENCE); NETHERLANDS WILL BE REPRESENTED AT UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE LEVEL; NORWEGIAN DEL WILL BE HEADED BY SUB-MINISTERIAL OFFICIALS OF THEIR AMBASSADOR TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GENEVA.

7. ON QUESTION OF PNES THERE WAS STRONG SUPPORT FROM FRG AND NETHERLANDS FOR BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR PNE COMMITTEE IN IAEA. NO DELEGATION SEEMED OPPOSED. THERE WAS SOME DISAGREEMENT OVER UTILITY OF PNES WITH ITALIANS ARGUING THAT THEIR VALUE SHOULD'T BE WRITTEN OFF WHILE CANADIANS EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM. CANADIANS PROVIDED SOME INFORMATION FROM SPECIAL PNE REPORT WHICH HAD BEEN PRODUCED AFTER INDIAN EXPORSION LAST YEAR. THIS STUDY SHOWED THAT EVEN IN VAST, LIGHTLY POPULATED COUNTRY LIKE CANADA, PNES WERE NOT ATTRACTIVE FROM ECONOMIC VIEWPOINT. OTHER SPECIAL VIEWS ON PNES WERE WXPRESSED BY: (1) ITALY, WHICH ADVOCATED GIVING NNWS RIGHT TO SEND OBSERVERS TO PNE EVENTS ON TERRITORY OF NWS AND (2) FRG WHICH SAID GERMANS WOULD LIKE TO BE CONSIDERED A "CONSULTANT" STATE ON PNES.

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07

L-02 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-05 ERDA-05 OES-03 /091 W

----- 076389

R 101525Z APR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1107

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1958

8. ON SUPPLY OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS AND TECHNOLOGY, DUTCH AND BELGIANS SUGGESTED THAT AS CONDITION OF SUPPLY, RECIPIENT COUNTRIES SHOULD HAVE TO PLACE ALL RELATED ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING ENTIRE FUEL CYCLE, UNDER CONTROLS. IT WAS RECOGNIZED THAT SUCCESS OF THIS PROPOSAL WOULD DEPEND ON COOPERATION OF ALL SUPPLIERS. AS USUAL, FRENCH REP DID NOT COMMENT.

9. CANADIANS ALSO RAISED THE POINT THAT NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY NEEDS TO BE CONTROLLED. CANADA HAS NOT FOUND THE ANSWER AND ACKNOWLEDGES ENORMOUS LEGAL PROBLEMS. CANADIAN REP AGREED WITH U.S. SPOKESMAN'S OBSERVATION THAT EXISTING CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENTS CANNOT BE ALTERED TO ENCOMPASS CONTROL OF TECHNOLOGY.

10. IN REGARD TO PHYSICAL SECURITY, THERE WAS CONSENSUS IN SUPPORT OF U.S. SUGGESTION THAT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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NEEDED ON AT LEAST INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS AND PERHAPS A SORT OF INTERPOL ORGANIZATION TO RECOVER STOLEN MATERIAL. INTERNAL SECURITY WOULD BE RESPONSIBILITY OF SUPPLIER NATIONS, BUT IAEA COULD FORMULATE MINIMUM STANDARDS WITH WHICH SUPPLIERS MIGHT BE ABLE TO AGREE.

11. NEGATIVE ASSURANCES CAME UP IN THE CONTEXT OF BOTH THE REVIEW CONFERENCE AND THE DISCUSSION OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES. NO PRECISE PROPOSALS WERE DISCUSSED BUT THERE WERE STRONG EXPRESSIONS BY UK AND OTHERS DRAWING ATTENTION TO VITAL NECESSITY OF PUTTING SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS FIRST IN DECIDING WHAT STAND NATO NATIONS SHOULD TAKE. NETHERLANDS DELEGATION PROVED TO BE THE MOST ARDENT CHAMPION OF NEGATIVE ASSURANCES AND SUGGESTED THAT DISARMAMENT EXPERTS GROUP INFORM SYG THAT STUDY URGENTLY NEEDED TO HELP FORMULATE NATO POSITION ON THIS SUBJECT. CHAIRMAN SAID THIS WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE BUT SAID THAT IS COULD RAISE IT IN POLITICAL COMMITTEE. U.S. SPOKESMAN (GIVAN) POINTED OUT THAT IT DOUBTFUL THAT ANY SUCH STUDY COULD BE DONE IN TIME TO BE USEFUL IN REVIEW CONFERENCE CONTEXT. FRG AND CANADA THOUGHT SOMETHING SHOULD BE DONE IN NATO BUT WERE NOT EXPLICIT.

12. ON NFZ'S BELGIANS THOUGHT THAT THEY SHOULD PERTAIN ONLY TO STATES NOT BELONGING TO MILITARY ALLIANCES. GERMANS WERE NOT BASICALLY OPPOSED BUT THOUGHT OF NFZ'S ONLY AS COMPLEMENTING NPT. UK AND NETHERLANDS ALSO MADE FAVORABLE NOISES (WITH UK'S STANDARD CAVEAT ABOUT PRIMACY OF NATO SECURITY) WHILE FRENCH AND NORWEGIANS WERE NEGATIVE, LATTER FOCUSING ON SCANDANAVIAN AREA. ITALIANS WERE APPREHENSIVE THAT NFZ'S REPRESENTED SLIPPERY

SLOPE AND MIGHT LEAD INTO AREAS WHERE THEIR EFFECT WOULD BE DESTABILIZING.

13. ON TEST BAN ISSUES U.S. HAD ALREADY CIRCULATED LETTER TO

SYG GIVING CURRENT STATUS OF BILATERAL TALKS WITH SOVIETS ON TTB/PNE, WHICH SERVED AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. OTHER THAN TECHNICAL QUESTIONS, DELEGATIONS CONCENTRATED ON IMPLICATIONS OF BILATERAL NATURE OF TALKS. FRG WAS SORRY THAT TTB IS BILATERAL. GERMANS WERE INTERESTED IN PARTIES' ACCEPTING MORE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR OPENING UP PNE EVENTS TO

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OUTSIDE OBSERVERS (U.S. POINTED OUT THAT WE HAD INVITED OBSERVERS IN PAST) AND PROVIDING INFORMATION ON PNE EXPLOSIONS TO IAEA. CANADA TOOK SIMILAR LINE. UK SAID TTB REPRESENTED PROGRESS BUT WENT ON TO MAKE PITCH FOR QUOTA TEXT BAN WHICH WAS IMPLIED IN WILSON-BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE.

14. CANADIANS GAVE REPORT ON STATUS OF HUMANITARIAN LAW IN ARMED CONFLICTS WHICH EVOKED LITTLE DISCUSSION EXCEPT FOR UK OBSERVATION THAT SOVIETS DO NOT SEEM TO BE READY TO LIVE WITH BANS AND PROHIBITIONS IN THIS AREA. BELGIANS MADE NEGATIVE NOISES ABOUT CANADIAN SUGGESTION FOR BAN ON (1) USING INCENDIARIES AGAINST UNPROTECTED PERSONNEL, (2) BOOBY TRAPPING CIVILIAN OBJECTS AND (3) MARKING ISOLATED MINEFIELDS. HOWEVER, GERMANS SAID THEY COULD LIVE WITH SUCH PROPOSALS IF THERE WERE A CONSENSUS.

15. REMAINING ITEMS /PROSPECTS FOR THE 1975 CCD AND CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PRODUCED NO SIGNIFICANT DISCUSSION. ENMOD DISCUSSION HAS BEEN REPORTED SEPTTEL. FURTHER TO THAT REPORT, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT AT END OF MEETING, CHAIRMAN PRODUCED A STUDY PREPARED BY EXPERTS UNDER AEGIS OF MILITARY COMMITTEE (AC/243-D/355) WHICH EXAMINES APPLICABILITY OF WEATHER MODIFICATION TO NATO MILITARY REQUIREMENTS. COPY BEING POUCHED DEPARTMENT PM/DCA.

16. IT WAS AGREED TO HOLD FALL DISARMAMENT EXPERTS MEETING DURING FIRST WEEK IN OCTOBER, PERHAPS SOMEWHERE BESIDES BRUSSELS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO01958
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197504101/abbrzjgz.tel
Line Count: 263
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <08 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEETING OF NATO DISARMAMENT EXPERTS, APRIL 8 AND 9
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE INFO SECDEF
ALL NATO CAPITALS
TOKYO
MOSCOW
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